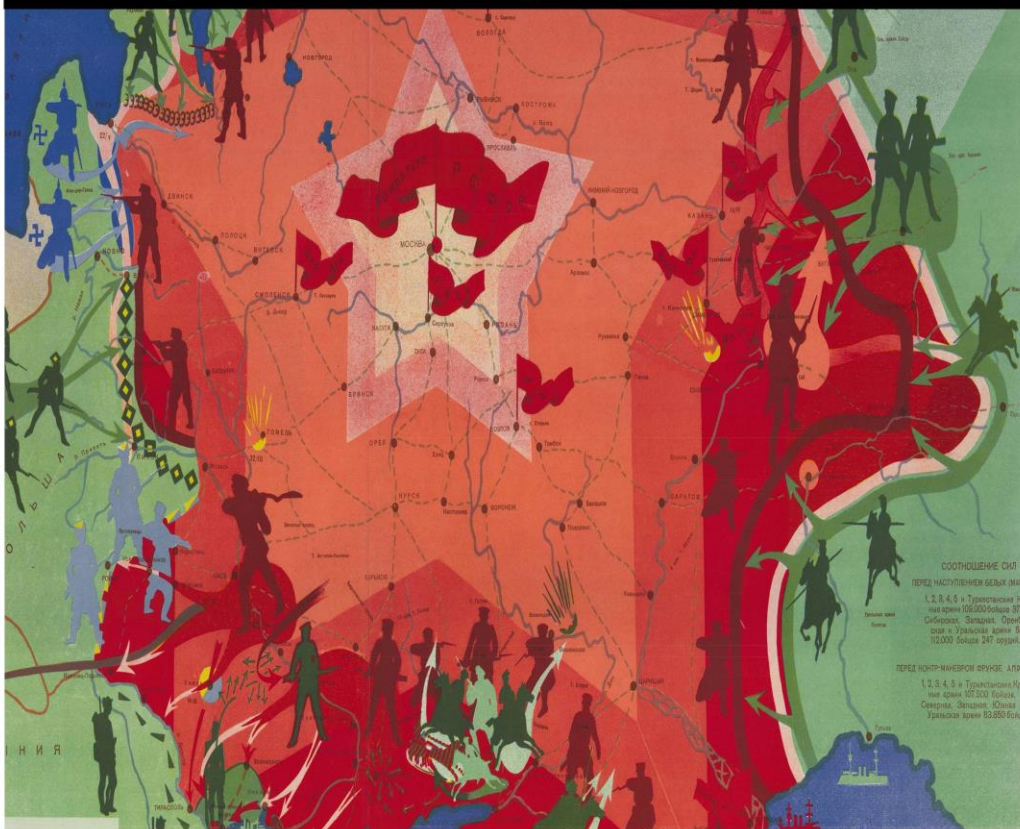


Triumph and Liquidation

An Essay and Guide to a Series of Ten Pictorial Wall Maps Produced to Illustrate the Military Successes of The Red Army in the Russian Civil War of 1917-1922

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Summer 2017

Acknowledgements

The content of this Internet-based publication has been distilled from a much a larger work that will set out to describe each of the maps in greater detail for the non-Russian reader, and hopefully, furnish researchers with more substantial information on both the organization and individuals who compiled the set. Getting the project down to a more digestible level for the Library's website, however, required a considerable skill set in cutting and slicing never honed by the author. He, therefore, relied upon Mr. Ryan Moore, Cartographic Specialist in the Geography and Map Division, who also serves as the division's de facto editor-in-chief, to carve the excess weight in order to expose the figure therein. Mr. Moore's efforts have been invaluable in bringing this project to completion.

Also to be thanked is Mr. Anthony Mullan, a former Cartographic Reference Specialist in the Geography and Map Division, who read the entire manuscript thoughtfully and offered helpful suggestions on various topics concerning art and maps.

I would also like to thank my research assistant in Moscow, Ms. Svetlana Chervonnaya, who was able to visit the Russian national archives and obtain access to records oftentimes off limits to foreigners. Ms. Chervonnaya's research brought to light some information on Aleksandr Nikolaievich De-Lazari, one of the maps' two principal cartographers; he was a compelling figure in his own right.

I would also like to thank the following individuals for their generous assistance: Mr. Ralph Ehrenberg, former chief of the Geography and Map Division – now twice! – who receives high honorable mention for encouraging me to complete the project in the first place; Mr. Mike Buscher, Head of Reference and Reader Services in the Geography and Map Division, who deserves plaudits for allowing me to pursue this research and writing as part of my normal duties; Ms. Diane Schug-O'Neill, the division's Digital Conversion Coordinator, who scanned the maps on my behalf during what is her usual more-than-heavy workload; and Mr. Charles Peterson, Senior Cartographic Materials Cataloger at the Library, who cataloged them for the benefit of myself and other researchers. Many thanks are also due to Tammy Wong, Senior Cataloging Specialist in the Geography and Map Division, who created a bibliographic record for the online guide, and to Kenneth Nyirady, Reference Specialist in the European Division, for his especially helpful editing of the manuscript.

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Introduction

In 1929, the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress acquired a series of ten visually striking Russian pictorial propaganda maps published in 1928 by the Division of Military Literature of the State Publishing House of the Red Proletariat. The maps commemorate the tenth anniversary of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the subsequent Bolshevik victory in the Civil War, 1918-21. They are the first set of uniformly drawn and thematically coherent pictorial maps issued by the new Soviet state. Vibrant, dynamic, and blatantly political, they detail myriad episodes and events connected with the period and tell the story of how the Bolsheviks defeated their enemies, both internal and external, to save the communist revolution and bring socialism to Russia.

During his leadership, Vladimir Lenin, the first head of the Soviet state, encouraged the use of posters as a form of visual media for soliciting support for the Bolshevik movement and conveying communist propaganda. The maps contain political quotations by Lenin on each map that served to create a cult of personality. His words were chanted at Communist Party meetings, factory meetings, family gatherings, weddings, funerals, and virtually every theater of Soviet social life. In the absence of outlawed scripture, they took on the force of dogma.

To reach the widest possible audience the maps were issued as posters with the intention of displaying them in schoolrooms, offices, factory floors, local town halls, and other public venues. They convey their political rhetoric largely through illustrations, while text and conventional map symbols play a secondary role. The viewer encounters detailed information on a host of major events and issues, such as battles and campaigns; troop movements and positions of armies; commanders and their forces; invasion by foreign powers; internal revolts; political incidents in and outside Russia. The maps make the complex information easily digestible by way of a variety of powerful images, easily recognized symbols, bold colors, and, on one map, photomontage imagery.

The maps formed part of a larger program of communicating propaganda through art, in this case, the popular medium of posters, which were used extensively by the Bolsheviks to engender support for their policies. They combine revolutionary elements, such as the red star and even the color red, with the older traditions of Russian art, noticeably the elements associated with religious icons and folk art. They also appeared at a time when Joseph Stalin, Lenin's successor, began building support for his radical new programs planned in agriculture and industry, known, respectively, as Collectivization and the first Five-Year Plan, which faced strong opposition within Russia. The country was also trying to establish itself as a new and potentially powerful state, and its citizenry reformulating the way it viewed itself in the political and cultural arenas. With their plethora of pictorial information, the maps represent an early Soviet attempt to write the history of the Revolution and Civil War, one that vindicated their success over the enemies of Russian communism. They lay claim to territories of the former Russian empire newly incorporated into the fledgling Soviet state, as well as redefine the vast new geo-political space as being squarely in Soviet hands.

The forthcoming centennial of the Russian Revolution and Civil War seems to be an ideal time for bringing these materials to the attention of scholars, students, and the general public. As topics of historical consideration, however, they are much too complex to be discussed in a brief online presentation. This Internet-based version forms the backbone of a much longer work intended for future publication in print. Nonetheless, we hope that this introduction to the materials will encourage the use of the maps as worthwhile sources, engender their appreciation, and lend evidence to further debate on the role of this tumultuous episode in the twentieth century.

Following this essay are illustrated discussions of each of the ten maps.

Note on Dates

On February 1, 1918, the Bolsheviks abandoned the use of the old Julian calendar and replaced it with the modern Gregorian calendar, thus synchronizing the pace of Russian life with the rest of the world. In the twentieth century, the Julian calendar fell thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar, thus necessitating the use of two dates, Old Style and New Style, in writings about Russia in the years leading up to the Revolutionary era. In this paper, all dates pertaining to events in Russia and elsewhere occur in the twentieth century. Therefore, I have co-opted their revision, and report all dates in the New Style, except in cases on the maps where the cartographer has referred to events in the Old Style. In those instances, both Old Style and New Style dates are given to avoid confusion.

A Brief Introduction to the Russian Revolution and Civil War

The Russian Revolution commenced with more of a whisper than a bang on November 7-8 (October 25-26 Old Style), 1917, when troops, sailors, and workers allied to the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet forced themselves into Petrograd's Winter Palace and arrested members of the feeble Provisional Government, the successor administration to the Czarist regime.¹ A new revolutionary government appeared the very next day, with Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, as its chairman. Lenin moved quickly on long-standing promises; the very first decrees passed under his auspices arranged for an immediate armistice with Germany and the redistribution of lands to the peasantry.

The Bolsheviks gradually began taking control of the major apparatus of soviets (workers' and soldiers' councils) that had sprung up in the towns and villages in 1917, until they ruled the central executive organs of government. The major Bolshevik influence lay in Moscow and Petrograd, with their preponderance of factory workers, radicalized soldiers and sailors, and political activists. Although those groups represented only three percent of the country's total population in late 1917, it was enough to control the major towns and cities.

Their ascent to power, however, was not unopposed; from the outset, they faced obstacles from several groups, such as the Social Revolutionaries and the former Czarist officer corps. Exclusive Bolshevik rule in Russia was never guaranteed, as the party faced a series of crises that could have led to its defeat at any time before 1920. External threats plagued the Bolsheviks in the early months of their rule, as well. They approached the Germans with terms for settling the war. The Germans were receptive to the overtures but required that Lenin's government accept harsh conditions in order to reach a peace settlement. Playing for time, the Bolsheviks turned down an initial German offer, but then they found themselves under a renewed military assault that led to them abandon Petrograd for Moscow as their capital. Under pressure from Lenin, who was driven by his desire to save communist rule in Russia, they accepted Germany's humiliating peace terms, which included the loss of Ukraine, Poland, and the Baltics, for a combined total population of roughly sixty million people, in addition to one-third of Russia's arable lands, one-third its railway system, and almost seventy percent of its coal and heavy industry. The agreement was called the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

¹ Histories of the Russian Revolution and Civil War have been published at many levels of magnification and in several languages. A relatively recent scholarly examination is Evan Mawdsley's *The Russian Civil War* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000). A more engaging overview of the period is W. Bruce Lincoln's *Red Victory: a History of the Russian Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989). Also helpful are the first few chapters of Richard Pipes's *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1993). The historian Jonathan D. Smele has prepared a *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Civil Wars, 1916-1926* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), which has valuable information on people, institutions, armies, campaigns, and events, as well as social and cultural phenomena pertaining to the period. Also useful is the revised and updated version of *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian revolution*, ed. by Harold Shukman (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Reference, 1994).

As a result of the internal and external turmoil, civil war broke out in summer 1918. Battles initially occurred from within, when abortive uprisings, marked by terrorism, were staged by Left Social Revolutionaries in an attempt to thwart the peace with Germany and spread the revolution to Europe. Their actions resulted in armed rebellion and several high-profile assassinations, such as the head of the Petrograd Cheka and the German ambassador, as well a failed assassination attempt on Lenin himself. But the Bolsheviks had planned for their security in advance, having earlier established a secret police known as the Extraordinary Commission to Fight the Counterrevolution and Sabotage, which became known by its acronym, Cheka. Before evolving through several iterations to its more commonly recognized acronym, KGB, the Cheka almost at the outset instated a reign of terror in 1918 to suppress dissent by arresting, interrogating, and executing enemies of the revolution.

Later attacks on Bolshevik authority came from the periphery, which afforded greater protection to former army officers, political opponents, university students, Cossack hosts, brigands, anarchists, and terrorists, who had accumulated in various regional groupings but ultimately failed to dislodge the communists. By the end of 1920, all counterrevolutionary opposition to Lenin's rule had been arrested, murdered, chased out of the country, or forced into exile, with a few anarchists and rebels suppressed within the next few years.

Circumstances in Russia during the Civil War in Russia were further aggravated by Allied intervention, the war between the Soviets and Poland, and numerous movements for independence among peoples in the former Russian Empire. Allied intervention began in March 1918, with the landing of a small contingent of British marines at the port of Murmansk, followed by Japanese and American troops in Vladivostok, the British in the Transcaucasus and Baku, combined British and American forces in Archangel, the French in Odessa, and sundry other contingents in the same locales. None of the interventionist nations, however, were fully committed to reversing the course of Bolshevik power, and they eventually withdrew from the mainland by 1922.

The Soviet-Polish War, although not part of the Russian Civil War proper, grew inexorably out of events. Two incompatible forces – renewed Polish independence and Bolshevik expansionism – clashed in the murky borderlands that stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Poles moved first in 1919, occupying territory in western Russia, but in late April 1920 struck in earnest, invading Ukraine. Their initial success was short-lived; it was followed by a major, but flawed, Soviet counteroffensive deep into Poland, which the Poles took to their advantage by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Red Army in mid-August 1920. An October armistice was followed by a spring treaty in 1921. The Bolsheviks, humbled, resorted to building socialism only at home.

Geo-Political Context

Revolution and war were fresh in Russia's collective memory in 1928. A decade earlier the nation had emerged broken, disadvantaged, and humiliated by its participation

in the First World War. Depending on one's point of view, the greatest misfortune may have occurred eight months prior to the war's end, when Russia's thousand-year-old institution of monarchical rule, known as Czarism, collapsed, upheaving the country into an uncharted territory of provisional and coalition governments, before descending into a full-scale revolution. Directly on the heels of revolution came a savage civil war between the minority Bolsheviks, often called Reds, and a loose conglomeration of counterrevolutionary forces, known as Whites. The war raged for three years and was characterized by terror and murderous reprisals, agricultural collapse and famine, and widespread epidemics. All of the tragic events resulted in a great loss of life. At its end, the Bolsheviks, never entirely with the odds on their side, emerged as victors, and in the process having both inherited and added to the country's lingering trauma.

The year 1928, on the other hand, would prove to be a small watershed in Joseph Stalin's career, and for Russia, too. An opportunity was created in a vacuum of leadership, which resulted from the death of Lenin, who had neglected to appoint a successor. Consequently, the central government became subject to factionalism and stalemate. Stalin, having been appointed General Secretary of the Communist Party in April 1922, controlled its membership and cultivated followers loyal to him. Through a combination of political acumen, intrigue, and Machiavellian ruthlessness, Stalin subdued his potential rivals in the government and the party by the end of 1928. He was elected head of the Communist Party's Central Committee and appointed the chairman of the government's ruling organ, the Politburo. He cemented his victory by formally condemning all deviation from the Party line, as prescribed by him.

Isolated post-World War I, the Soviet Union faced the problem of restoring its status as a legitimate nation in the international community. Success came gradually during the 1920s. In the Baltics, long considered as being under the Russian sphere of influence, the Soviet Union formally recognized its neighbors Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia as independent republics in 1920. Immediately to the west, Russia obtained a temporary reprieve in its ongoing territorial conflict with Poland in their borderlands, in spite of having been defeated by the Poles in the Polish-Soviet War, 1919-20, essentially the Soviets' first effort at exporting communism to the rest of Europe. Poland and other Eastern European nations, however, refused to recognize the country's communist regime. Nonetheless, Soviet Russia scored its first diplomatic success in 1922 by signing a formal agreement -- the Treaty of Rapallo -- with a major state, Germany, its former enemy and another European pariah. Diplomatic recognition soon followed by Great Britain, France, Italy, and other western powers.

Soviet Russia's tentative steps onto the international stage by and large coincided with the consolidation of its rule over the heterogeneous population that occupied its margins. By 1919 the country possessed the international borders it was to retain until the outbreak of the Second World War, but ethnic unrest affected the stability of the border regions, especially in Russian Central Asia, which was dominated by adherents of Islam, and the Caucasus, with its mosaic of peoples. The issue was forcibly settled by both Lenin and Stalin (the latter loathing ethnic minorities), but the underlying tensions were never entirely abated.

Artistic Precursors

Posters, used since the time of Catherine the Great, must be viewed with an appreciation of the religious icon. Historians have pointed to functional and aesthetic similarities between icons and posters. According to one, both objects were designed to convey “a heavily concentrated message,” compressing as much information as possible into a format that can be easily viewed from a distance.² Secular Russian artists borrowed religious imagery and motifs, which they adapted into political messages that in turn were designed to eschew spirituality. A prominent example is that of the popular image of St. George slaying the dragon, an allegory of Christianity conquering evil, which appears on innumerable icons. After the Revolution, it came to symbolize (in secular manifestations) the proletariat vanquishing the bourgeoisie. More direct and satirical applications of religious imagery in poster art were also common.³

Another influence that inspired Soviet political posters lie in the folk-art form known as the *lubok*, which was the peasant illustrated woodcut or broadside that developed in Russia in the early seventeenth century.⁴ *Lubki*, the plural form of *lubok*, combined illustrations with text and commented on spiritual matters, social issues, political affairs, proverbs, folklore, fables and day-to-day issues. By the end of the nineteenth century, *lubki* had all but disappeared, but as White points out, they maintained a direct influence on political posters. At the outbreak of World War I the Russian state established “The Contemporary Lubok,” a publishing house that commissioned and produced a series of patriotic *lubki*. Several artists involved in producing the modern *lubki* became well-known in the production of political posters, thus carrying over that artistic tradition.⁵

The maps also draw inspiration from the artistry that graced Soviet-era children’s books in the 1920s. Children’s book illustrators were not immune to the larger forces shaping the Russian aesthete among the generation of artists working after the Bolshevik Revolution. In emulation, the map illustrations are bright and dynamic. Soldiers march, horses gallop, military engagements move forward, lines of defense are erected, ships ferry troops and supplies, regions are engulfed in flames, and territories are lost and won. The ten maps are uniform in style, technique, appearance, and message. Their goal was

² Ulf Abel, “Icons and Soviet Art,” in *Symbols of Power: the Esthetics of Political Legitimation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, ed. by C. Arvidsson and L. E. Blomquist (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1987), 150.

³ Stephen White, *The Bolshevik Poster* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power; Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 5-6.

⁴ Ya. Tukhendlol’d, “Sovremennyi plakat,” *Pechat’ i Revoliutsiia*, 1926, no. 8, 56-74.

⁵ White, *The Bolshevik Poster*, 30.

to persuade, but they nonetheless did so in a visually arresting manner that encouraged discussion, education, and support.

Symbols, Emblems, and Icons

Poster artists in the wake of the Revolution were faced with the task of satisfying the demands of the new rulers. They were compelled to devise a new set of symbols, emblems, and icons that would perform two equally important tasks: initially, to convey the legitimacy of the new state and its rulers; and secondly, to incorporate the symbolic elements into a visual language comprehensible to the larger population.⁶ The most obvious symbols associated with the Soviet Union – the red star, the red flag, and the hammer and sickle – appertain directly to the 1917 October Revolution. In conjunction with parades, ceremonies, monuments, and anthems, they were part of a new symbolic and ritual system adopted by the Bolsheviks in 1918 to replace the symbols of Czarist Russia.⁷

Taking as an example the [fourth map](#) in the group, our eyes are drawn to a series of star outlines, at the center of which is a large red flag, which identifies Moscow as the capital of the new Bolshevik government and the seat of centralized power. Starbursts appear to radiate outward, in an allusion to the creation of the Cosmos, with Moscow at the center of a new political universe.

The use of the star is iconic, as well as metaphorical. Possibly the most familiar symbol of Soviet Russia, the five-pointed red star was adopted by the Bolsheviks in April 1918 as the official emblem of the Red Army, designed to be worn as a badge on the uniform. Although it has no precursor in Russian religious iconography, observers have suggested that it may have a Russian origin, that being Aleksander Bogdanov's 1908 novel, *Red Star*, which was a Marxist-utopian epic set on the planet Mars.⁸

Another symbol universally associated with the Soviet Union is the sickle and hammer.⁹ It was selected by the Bolsheviks in 1918 from among a number of entries submitted by artists for the new state emblem, in a slightly altered state, designed to replace the double-headed eagle of the Czars. Its initial design, as defined in the 1924

⁶ Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*.

⁷ Richard Stites, "The Origins of Soviet Ritual Style," in *Symbols of Power: the Esthetics of Political Legitimation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, ed. by C. Arvidsson and L. E. Blomquist (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1987).

⁸ This is noted by Richard Stites in his "Adorning the Revolution: the Primary Symbols of Bolshevism, 1917-1918," in *Sbornik: Study Group on the Russian Revolution*, no. 10 (1984) and "The Origins of Soviet Ritual Style." In Bogdanov's futuristic novel, Martians select a Russian social revolutionary to visit their planet, which is a model of future human social organization. Disenchanted with the Martian utopia and fearing Mars' colonization of Earth, the visitor kills one of his hosts, and is returned to Earth only to be confined to a mental asylum.

⁹ Western usage customarily reverses the terminology to hammer and sickle for an unknown reason.

Soviet Constitution, has it “composed of a sickle and a hammer on a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and framed by ears of wheat, with the inscription “proletarians of the world, unite!” in six languages - Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani. At the top of the Emblem is a five-pointed star.”¹⁰ With some revision, the sickle and hammer served the official state symbol of the Soviet Union for just over seventy years. The duality of its symbolism combines the sickle of the agricultural worker and the hammer of the industrial laborer and is meant to reflect the unified purpose of peasants and workers.¹¹ It appeared significantly on the national flag and the coat of arms of the U.S.S.R., as well as on the flags and coats of arms of the Soviet republics.

Significance of Colors

The color red dominates the maps. One artist has maintained that, over time, the color red became the “leading and favorite color of the Russian people, carrying profound and enormous meaning,” and implying strength and passion. Though its use as a symbol of revolution began in late eighteenth-century France, red was exploited as a revolutionary color by the Soviets, who combined it in the “symbolism of blood, triumph, victory, hope, and faith.”¹² Its meaning was transformed even further by fixing it to the names of state institutions, such as Red Army, Red Star, and Red Flag.

To early interpreters of Eastern Orthodox doctrine, red signified the blood of Christ and the holy martyrs. As we see on these maps, however, Soviet cartographic artists have expropriated the classical meaning of the color red, as displayed in its original setting in icons, and applied it to twentieth-century political art as a way of representing the blood of the martyrs of the October Revolution. By shifting its context from the spiritual world to the political theater, they have deliberately inverted (and perhaps perverted) the meaning of a common symbol. This also dramatically points out that some Soviet artists, whose creative purpose was grounded in secular Marxist dogma, depended upon the Eastern Orthodox aesthetic as a traditional source, from which they drew inspiration for their state-sponsored propaganda.

According to general color theory, red is expansive and aggressive; it dismantles borders. Black, on the other hand, is described as a recessive color; it narrows and shrinks, especially when adjacent to red. In areas under Soviet authority on the maps, red evokes communist expansion. In Soviet art, as in most art, red stands in contrast to black. Red, associated with communism, came to signify the revolution and the good, while

¹⁰ “Constitution of the USSR, 1924,” on the “Site of the Constitution of the Russian Federations” <http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1924/>, retrieved September 1, 2016.

¹¹ V. V. Pokhlebkin, *Slovar' Mezhdunarodnoi Simvoliki i Emblematiki*, 375-76; and Stites, “Adorning the Revolution,” 39-42.

¹² Quotes are from the exhibition catalog *Red in Russian Art* (St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum: Palace edition, 1997), 6. For further elaboration on this topic see Ulf Abel, “Icons and Soviet Art,” in *Symbols of Power: the Esthetics of Political Legitimation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, ed. by C. Arvidsson and L. E. Blomquist (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1987).

black, connected to the opposition forces, eventually signified for some the counterrevolution and the bad.¹³ When contrasted to the color white, a neutral tone, red conveys a sense of majesty and authority.

Turning to the [fifth map](#) in the series as our example, one sees illustrated the expansive properties of red. The map itself depicts the first real battles of the Civil War and other events that occurred in the tumultuous period March-June, 1919. A series of five-pointed red stars radiates outward from Moscow. The red hue intensifies, in graduated steps, as the stars expand and increase their distance from Moscow, which serves as a sort of focal point to the viewer. The artist, N. D. Kazantsev, has applied red to the map in varying degrees of intensity, from pale red (almost white) to deep red. Consequently, red has assumed an active process, in that it implies, via its gradations, the increasing level of success achieved by the Bolsheviks in spreading their authority over widening areas of Russia, to the decreasing influence of the Whites.

Red, of course, is not the only color with relevant symbolism, since the maps carefully employ other colors to illustrate specific political messages. A powerful example of green and white appears on the [third map](#) in the series, which illustrates events that transpired during six months of 1918 when members of the Entente began openly to support opponents of the communist revolution. The most prominent segment of the map, Siberia, is bathed in both green and white, which arguably betray Siberia's outlaw spirit and its push towards independence. Over the centuries both idea and impulse in the region were engendered by several interconnected motives, including its vast distances, the minority status accorded its ethnolinguistic groups, and western Russia's dependence upon its abundance of resources. There persisted the uncomfortable historical perception of Siberia having served as a depository for the nation's criminal and political exiles, among the latter those who had been forced to flee the Constituent Assembly in January 1918 at the end of a barrel of a Bolshevik rifle. The map represents the rebelliousness of the break-away Provisional Siberian Government, which chose a large green and white flag as its symbol of nationhood, emphasizing Siberia's most identifiable natural features, its trees and snow.

The Mapmakers

A search of the archival records of the State Publishing House, which are held by the State Archive of the Russian Federation, indicates that the collection is far from complete, with very few files from the period (1926-28) the maps were likely produced.¹⁴ The existing documents reveal virtually no information regarding the compilation and drawing of the pictorial maps. Research for additional information on the agency is

¹³ Abel, "Icons and Soviet Art," in *Symbols of Power*. Ignoring the precepts of color theory, the Russian communists, for reasons not entirely clear, came to refer to their Civil War opponents derogatorily as "Whites." It may allude to the color associated with Bourbon line of European kings, whom radicals recognized as the imperial enemies of the French Revolution.

¹⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), fond 395, opis 14. Files examined September 2016.

ongoing. Therefore, the author has taken a more heuristic approach to their study and has allowed them to tell the story of the Civil War in their own vital fashion.

Likewise, some authoritative information is known about the two cartographers, A. N. De-Lazari and N. N. Lesevitskii, who compiled the maps and oversaw their preparation. Both obviously had military backgrounds, as did one of the artists who drew them.¹⁵ In the words of A. N. De-Lazari, the State Publishing House of the Red Proletariat published the series of pictorial maps in order to “popularize the main moments of the heroic struggle of the Red Army in the Civil War, 1917-22.”¹⁶ Though very little is known about their production process, we are told that the cartographers would compile special draft charts, from which the artists would make ten large maps or poster charts of the Civil War.¹⁷ Per the implied division of labor, we can infer that De-Lazari and Lesevitskii were likely responsible for overseeing the entire project, which included hiring the artists who drew the maps; selecting and researching the major themes, topics, and content; reviewing, approving and selecting a coherent style of artistic illustration, though allowing for artistic freedom; overseeing the translation of the original drawings into prints; and stamping the final products with their approval.

The maps reveal a great deal of preparation in their compilation. Their scheme was thoughtfully chosen, in that they successfully depict a complex order of events without straying from their historical context. They also present a reconstruction of political events occurring outside of Russia. In the introduction to his booklet *Boevoi put' Krasnoi Armii, 1917-1922 g.g.* that accompanies the maps, De-Lazari describes the methods and conventions employed in their design. In the author's own words, the cartographers applied colors according to an “international scale,” which is interpreted to mean one whose symbolism could be recognized by a general audience. As such, red denotes revolutionary states, as well as those fighting for Soviet power; green indicates the Entente and its adherents; Germany and Austria-Hungary are represented by bluish-purple; neutral states are in brown; Social Revolutionaries and their affiliates are in yellow; anarchists are depicted in black and red. Symbols were devised in an effort to match the essence of meaning. In other words, arrows give a dynamic aspect to an event, an inverted boat represents the sinking of the fleet, flames indicate rebellions and flags the centers of power, with all presented at a size proportional to their significance.¹⁸

¹⁵ At the time of writing searches have been undertaken in the catalogs of the Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv (RGVIA), particularly in the index to the Frunze Academy and staff files of the Raboche-krest'ianskaia Krasnaia Armiia (RKKA); catalogs of the Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voennyi Arkhiv (RGVA).

¹⁶ Alexander De-Lazari, *Boevoi put' Krasnoi Armii, 1917-1922 g.g.* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1928), 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

Nikolai Nikolayevich Lesevitskii (1879-after 1931) was a Soviet journalist and editor of military magazines. He served in the Russian Imperial Army during World War I, having attained the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was cited for bravery under fire on more than one occasion.¹⁹ His military specialty appears to have been light artillery and the use of new weaponry, and in 1924, he authored an article for the journal *Smena* that examined the advantages and disadvantages of new types of weapons, including aviation, and their influence on tactics in a hypothetical war with France and England.²⁰ Later, Lesevitskii was arrested for being part of the so-called “Moscow KRO” (Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization) in 1931, and sentenced to ten years of corrective labor. His record becomes vague and inconclusive following his prison term.²¹

More is known about Aleksandr Nikolaievich De-Lazari, an experienced military historian, geographer, and cartographer who served in the Imperial Russian Army in World War I and in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War. A. N. De-Lazari was born in 1880 as the scion of an aristocratic family that had relocated from Italy to Russia in the eighteenth century. His grandfather fought with Russia against Napoleon in the War of 1812.²² In the family tradition, he entered the military, graduating from the Konstantinovsky Artillery School in St. Petersburg in 1901. He later was a part of the Imperial General Staff, serving with distinction in the First World War. His fortunes curtailed by the Revolution, De-Lazari entered the Red Army in February 1918, a move not uncommon among thousands of former Russian Imperial army officers. He experienced first-hand events during the Civil War, in which he served as chief of staff on various fronts and districts, including operations chief of staff of the Western Front, chief of operations and chief of staff of the Western Military District (1918-19); chief of staff and assistant commander of the West Siberian Military District (1920); and chief of staff of the Third Army of the Eastern Front (1921-22). There followed stints as an editor of military history of the Supreme Military Commission, a lecturer in the department of military history in the Red Army’s Military Academy, and finally, professor of chemical defense.²³ He was a noted authority on the eastern front of the First World War, the Russian Civil War, and the use of chemical warfare.

¹⁹ Biography of N. N. Lesevitskii on the Website of the *Genealogical Research Centre (Tsentra genealogicheskikh issledovaniĭ)* <http://rosgenea.ru/>. Retrieved on October 13, 2016.

²⁰ Journal *Smena*, no. 13 September 1924, viewed at <http://fantlab.ru/work542589>. Retrieved on October 3, 2016.

²¹ Information supplied to the author by Svetlana Chervonnaya.

²² See his entry in *Who Was Who in the USSR*, ed. by H. E. Schulz et al. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972). The memoirs N. N. De-Lazari, along with an excellent genealogy including photographs of the De-Lazari family, have been published by Professor Andrzej de Lazari in 2014 on the Website, *Academia* at http://www.academia.edu/6139133/Наброски_на_бумагу_Николая_де_Лазари. Retrieved on October 19, 2016.

²³ Alexander Nikolaevich De Lazari, *Википедия*, retrieved from *Википедия* <https://ru.wikipedia.org/>, February 4, 2015.

De-Lazari reportedly spent 20 years compiling a “Synchronistic Table of Events of the First World War and Civil Wars, 1914-1922,” which essentially presented a chronological table of concurrent events occurring on the major fronts, as well as concurrent military, economic, and political events occurring at the national level in Russia.²⁴ De-Lazari’s table appeared in 1925 among a collection of articles on the decade of the First World War entitled *The Decade of the World War*. The compendium was published in the journal *Bulletin of the Fleet*, with a foreword by Karl Radek.²⁵

In 1924, De-Lazari established himself as an accomplished historical military cartographer with the publication of the atlas accompanying A. M. Zaionchkovskii’s two-volume history of the Great War entitled *World War 1914-1918: General Strategic Sketches*. The atlas comprised fifty typo-lithographic maps produced by the VARKKA, or Military Academy of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army. The maps illustrate specific sections of Zaionchkovskii’s text, which in turn refer to the appropriate map(s) to be consulted.

A few of the maps within the 1924 atlas point to the work that would follow in 1928. The first map, for example, which presents the political situation in Europe at the beginning of the war, saturates those nations belonging to the Entente in a deep red, which lends an air of political dominance to Russia, while the Central Powers are hued in a dark blue. Map forty-two, which emphasizes the continuing German occupation of Russian territory in the wake of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, also paints Russia in bold red, while dotted red lines project out of Russia towards countries putatively affected by the Communist Revolution; moreover, Moscow is encapsulated within an outline of a five-pointed star that also displays the hammer-and-sickle emblem.

De-Lazari later prepared the maps for the atlas supplement accompanying N. E. Kakurin’s two-volume study of the period titled *How the Revolution was Fought*. The atlases were published in two volumes by the State Publishing House in 1925-26 under the title *The Civil War in Russia in Maps*. Also produced under the auspices of the Military Academy of the RKKA, they comprise typo-lithographic maps

With these maps, De-Lazari established himself as an authority on the geopolitics, strategy, and military operations of the Russian Civil War. His cartography informs us especially with regard to campaigns and individual engagements on all major fronts. The skilled illustrations employ the customary figures and symbols associated with military cartography, i.e. troop positions, lines of advance/spearheads, front lines, counterattacks, fortified and defended positions, occupied areas, etc., and also identify the positions of numerous armies, corps, and divisions. Cultural features include place names, roads, railroads, and borders, while hydrography is limited to the major river systems and topography is occasionally represented by hachures.

²⁴ A. N. Shishkanov. "Voennyi istorik A. N. De-Lazari." In *Voenna-istoricheskii zhurnal*, 1990, no. 3, 72-80.

²⁵ *Desiatiletie mirovoi voiny. Sbornik statei*. Edited by M. Okhitovich. With an introduction by K. Radek. Moskva: Izdanie zhurnala *Vestnik Vozdushnogo Flota*, 1925.

A few years before his death, De-Lazari compiled the maps and prepared the explanatory text for an atlas of maps illustrating major theaters and operations of the Russian Civil War, which he titled *An Album of Maps on the History of the Civil War in the USSR*. The military cartography is straightforward but unremarkable and does not reflect the great series of posters that preceded them. The inexpressive style of the cartographic work may reflect the hardships, for him, of the period. Although it displays the standard communist biases, De-Lazari's work demonstrates, in what was likely his last cartographic publication, the same intimate knowledge of events and focus on strategic detail that informs his earlier propaganda maps.

Despite his successes, De-Lazari was a victim of Stalin's purges. As recalled by his daughter, he was arrested five times on improbable charges, the last arrest occurring on the third day of the Second World War (ca. June 25, 1941).²⁶ Accused of being a member of an anti-Soviet military conspiracy, as well as an Italian spy, he was imprisoned and shot on February 23, 1942.

The little information known about the artists who actually drew the maps from sketches comes from disparate sources. The most successful artist appears to have been Solomon M. Zelikhman, the artist who drew the tenth map in the series. Zelikhman established his reputation as a painter of battle scenes. His eye for military detail was developed first-hand, by having served the First Cavalry Army under the command of Semyon Budyonny during the Civil War.²⁷ One of his paintings, titled "Breakthrough on the Polish Front," was displayed in 1938 in a section devoted to the Civil War in an exhibition entitled "Twenty Years of the Red Army and Navy."²⁸ Its subject matter suggests that artist may have participated in the mission. Titles of other paintings in his name include "Raid of the Cossack Platov on the Napoleonic Army during the Battle of Borodino," "Attack of the Soviet-Mongolian Cavalry at Khalkhin Gol," and "Attack by the Kushchevskaya Kuban Cossacks 2 August 1942."²⁹ The title of the latter painting indicates that he illustrated several scenes of the Russian Front during the Second World War.

Lastly, is A. Baranov, the artist who drew maps nine and ten. He has been linked to an un-dated pen-and-ink sketch titled "The Peasants Rebellion."³⁰ No other information about Baranov has been discovered by this author.

²⁶ Andrei Viktorovich Saburov, "Posledniaia Institutka," *Russkii dom*, no. 7, 2001. Izvlekaiutsia iz *Russkii dom*. <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/rusdom/200107/21.htm>, February 3, 2015.

²⁷ Semyon Budyonny, *The Path of Valour* (Moscow: Moscow, Progress Publishers [1972]). Translation of Budyonny's *Proidennyi put'*.

²⁸ Exhibition "XX Years of the Red Army and Navy." Republished review of an exhibition published in the *Marxist Historian*, no. 4, 1938, 198-200. Mounted by the Belorussian Digital Library at http://library.by/portalus/modules/russianculture/readme.php?subaction=showfull&id=1440226869&archive=&start_from=&ucat=&. Accessed September 22, 2016.

²⁹ Information of Zelikhman and his paintings retrieved on September 21, 2016, from *Gazeta Vpered* <http://www.vpered-kr.ru/kuban-cossacks/kuban-motherland/235-the-cossack-forever.html>

³⁰ <https://fs00.infourok.ru/images/doc/243/242563/7/img24.jpg> Accessed on September 22, 2016.